

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 CU-04 OIC-04 IO-13 ACDA-19

OMB-01 AEC-11 RSR-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 AECE-00 AF-10 /155 W  
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O R 261615 Z JUN 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 605

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3085

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3060

E. O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-79

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE - PLANNING FOR FIRST STAGE

HELSINKI FOR USDEL CSCE.

REF: USNATO 2977

BEGIN SUMMARY: COMMON POSITION OF EC-9 ON CSCE FIRST STAGE, PRESENTED AT JUNE 25 SENIOR POLADS MEETING, INCLUDES AGREEMENT THAT: A) ALLIED DELS CAN TABLE PAPERS " EXPLAINING" POSITIONS TAKEN IN MINISTERIAL SPEECHES; B) ALL MEETINGS SHOULD BE OPEN, THUS ELIMINATING NEED FOR COMMUNIQUE; C) CHANGES IN FINAL MPT DOCUMENT " EXCLUDED"; AND D) SECOND STAGE SHOULD BEGIN SEPTEMBER 18, WITH PRIOR MEETING OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE. ALL NINE EXCEPT FRANCE, AND POSSIBLY UK, OPPOSE TABLING OF DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENTS AT FIRST STAGE. ITALIANS DIFFER FROM OTHER EIGHT IN TAKING MORE FAVORABLE POSITION ON POSSIBLE TUNISIAN/ ALGERIAN PARTICIPATION. AT JUN 25 SPC MEETING, VARIOUS  
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MEMBERS

OF NINE CIRCULATED TEXTS OF " EXPLANATORY" PAPERS AND DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENTS ( SEE SEPTTEL). GUIDANCE REQUESTED. SPC WILL RETURN TO SUBJECT OF FIRST STAGE AT JUNE 28 MEETING, AT WHICH TIME

WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON WHETHER WE CAN JOIN NINE IN ACCEPTING OPEN MEETINGS AND NO FIRST STAGE COMMUNIQUE. WE WOULD ALSO WELCOME GUIDANCE ON SEPTEMBER 18 DATE FOR SECOND STAGE AND ON FRENCH DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENTS FOR BASKET III (SEE SEPTEL). END SUMMARY.

1. BELGIAN REP, AS SPOKESMAN OF NINE, OPENED MEETING WITH REPORT ON AGREEMENTS REACHED AT JUNE 21-22 MEETING OF EC CSCE SUB-COMMITTEE. HE NOTED THAT NINE WERE IN AGREEMENT THAT ALL MEETINGS OF FIRST STAGE SHOULD BE OPEN AND THAT THIS FACT, PLUS PUBLICATION OF OFFICIAL RECORDS OF MEETINGS, ELIMINATED NEED FOR ANY COMMUNIQUE. RECALLING CONCERN EXPRESSED IN HELSINKI BY SEVERAL EC-9 DELS, BELGIAN REP NOTED AGREEMENT THAT CHANGES WERE "EXCLUDED" IN FINAL DOCUMENT AND THAT ALLIED AGREEMENT TO THIS EFFECT SHOULD BE COMMUNICATED TO FINNS. (COMMENT: UK DELOFF SUGGESTED THAT THIS POSITION REFLECTED CONCERN THAT ROMANIANS MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO USE FIRST STAGE IN AN ATTEMPT OBTAIN PROPOSALS THEY ABANDONED AT MPT. END COMMENT).

2. TURNING TO POSSIBILITY OF TABLING PAPERS DURING FIRST STAGE, BELGIAN REP SAID NINE AGREED THAT DELS SO DESIRING COULD TABLE "EXPLANATORY" PAPERS WHICH WOULD EXPLAIN IN GREATER DETAIL POINTS MADE BY MINISTERS. IN VIEW LIMITED TIME, THESE PAPERS WOULD BE NATIONAL SUBMISSIONS AND NOT AGREED TEXTS. HOWEVER, BELGIAN REP POINTED OUT THAT PAPERS WOULD BE BASED ON AGREED ALLIED POSITION AND WOULD BE SUBJECT TO GENERAL APPROVAL BEFORE TABLING. HE NOTED PARENTHETICALLY THAT ALLIED PREFERENCE FOR LIMITING LENGTH OF MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS TO 15-20 MINUTES MADE SUCH PAPERS MOST USEFUL. IN EVENT WARSAW PACT OR NEUTRAL DELS SHOULD TABLE DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENTS, BELGIAN REP SAID NINE AGREED THERE SHOULD BE CONSULTATIONS AMONG ALLIED DELS IN HELSINKI. THERE WERE, HE SAID, THREE POSSIBLE REACTIONS: 1) IGNORE THESE PAPERS; 2) REPLY TO THEM ORALLY; AND 3) TABLE SIMILAR PAPERS IN REPLY. BELGIAN REP SAID SEVERAL AMONG NINE WERE OPPOSED TO TABLING DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENTS, REGARDLESS OF WHAT SOVIETS AND OTHERS DO. HE IMPLIED THAT ONLY FRENCH WERE STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF THIRD CONFIDENTIAL

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OPTION. "FOR PRACTICAL REASONS," NINE AGREED THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE TABLED ON PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RELATIONS AMONG STATES IN VIEW DISAGREEMENTS ON CONTENT AND NATURE OF SUCH A DOCUMENT. BELGIAN REP SAID NINE WOULD CONCENTRATE ON RESOLVING THESE DIFFERENCES AT COMING MEETINGS.

3. ON PARTICIPATION, BELGIAN REP SAID NINE AGREED POSSIBILITY OF TUNISIAN/ ALGERIAN PARTICIPATION AS OBSERVERS WAS EXCLUDED BY MPT FINAL DOCUMENT, WHICH NINE COULD NOT AGREE TO CHANGE. NINE WOULD SEEK DISCOURAGE EFFORT BY TUNISIA/ ALGERIA MAKE STATEMENTS AT FIRST STAGE, BUT IF THESE COUNTRIES INSIST AND OTHERS (SOVIETS IN PARTICULAR) DO NOT OBJECT TO SUCH STATEMENTS, NINE WOULD REEXAMINE QUESTION IN HELSINKI. LATER IN MEETING, ITALIAN REP

INDICATED THAT ROME WAS EVEN LESS INCLINED RESIST EFFORT BY TUNISIA/ ALGERIA MAKE STATEMENTS AT FIRST STAGE IF THOSE COUNTRIES INSISTED. US REP DREW ON STATE 123233 IN EXPLAINING OUR POSITION ON TUNISIAN/ ALGERIAN PARTICIPATION. IN CONCLUSION, BELGIAN REP NOTED NINE WERE IN AGREEMENT THAT SECOND STAGE SHOULD BEGIN SEPTEMBER 18, WITH PRIOR MEETING OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE " AT APPROPRIATE TIME."

5. VARIOUS MEMBERS OF EC-9 THEN EXPLAINED NATIONAL PAPERS WHICH THEY HAD PREPARED, AND CIRCULATED TEXTS ( TEXTS AND COMMENTARY SEPTEL). FRENCH REP NOTED THAT PARIS HAD PREPARED FIVE DRAFT DECLARATIONS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF CULTURAL COOPERATION WHICH FRENCH INTENDED TABLE AT FIRST STAGE IF SOVIETS TABLED DRAFT DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES. FRENCH REP STRESSED THAT PARIS BELIEVED FAILURE TO RESPOND IN KIND TO SOVIET DRAFT DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES WOULD MEAN AGREEING THAT " CSCE IS SOVIET CONFERENCE" AND SAID HE WOULD WELCOME COMMENTS ON FRENCH TEXTS. FRENCH REP ALSO MADE GENERAL REMARK ON NATURE OF ALLIED CONSULTATIONS DURING CSCE ITSELF, WHICH HE SAID WOULD NATURALLY DIFFER FROM THOSE DURING MPT. NOW THAT ALLIES HAVE ACHIEVED AGREEMENT ON MANDATES, HE SAID, PARIS DOES NOT BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD SEEK WORD- BY- WORD AGREEMENT ON TEXTS BUT SHOULD AGREE ON " GENERAL LINES" OF POLICY. UPON QUESTIONING BY SEVERAL OTHER REPS, FRENCH REP STEPPED BACK SOMEWHAT BUT CONTINUED INSIST THAT CHANGED CONDITIONS MEANT CHANGES IN NATURE OF CONSULTATIONS.

5. BELGIAN REP CIRCULATED TEXTS OF DECLARATION ON " ADMINISTRATIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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FORMALITIES" OF TRAVEL PLUS SIX DECLARATIONS ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF EDUCATION. HE NOTED THAT THESE TEXTS WOULD NOT BE TABLED AT FIRST STAGE BUT WOULD BE USED AT APPROPRIATE TIME DURING SECOND STAGE. BELGIANS HAVE NOT DECIDED WHETHER TABLE " EXPLANATORY" PAPERS DURING FIRST STAGE BUT ARE APPARENTLY INCLINED NOT TO DO SO.

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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 CU-04 OIC-04 IO-13 ACDA-19

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O R 261615 Z JUN 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 606

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3086

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3060

6. FRG REP ADVISED THAT CURRENT DRAFT OF SCHEEL' S SPEECH EMPHASIZED FOUR POINTS ON WHICH FRG WILL CIRCULATED " EXPLANATORY" PAPERS. THESE POINTS ARE: 1) REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES; 2) IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS; 3) INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION; AND 4) CREATION OF A " SCIENTIFIC FORUM." FRG REP SAID BONN WAS VERY INTERESTED IN OBTAINING COMMENTS ON LATTER PAPER, PARTICULARLY ON PART RELATING TO PROCEDURES AND ORGANIZATION. ( SEE SEPTEL FOR TEXT.) FRG REP ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT " SCIENTIFIC FORUM" PRPOSAL WAS " DEAR TO SCHEEL' S HEART," IMPLICATION BEING THAT FRG PLANNED TABLE PAPER BUT WAS PREPARED TAKE PROPOSALS FOR TEXTURAL CHANGES INTO ACCOUNT. FRG REP ALSO CIRCULATED TEXTS OF FIVE DRAFT DECLARATIONS TO BE USED DURING SECOND STAGE. TEXTS ARE IDENTICAL WITH THOSE IN USNATO 2998 ( NOTAL), INCLUDING BRACKETED SECTIONS REFLECTING DIFFERENCES AMONG NINE.

7. UK REP CIRCULATED TEXTS OF SIX DRAFT DECLARATIONS ON BASKET III ITEMS, INCLUDING FAMILIAR UK PROPOSAL FOR " CSCE MAGAZINE." HE NOTED THAT UK WAS IN PROCESS OF PRODUCING CONFIDENTIAL

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" EXPLANATORY" PAPERS ON SAME SUBJECTS WHICH WOULD BE TABLED IN HELSINKI. ALTHOUGH UK REP SAID LONDON DID NOT INTEND TABLE DRAFT DECLARATINS, HE INDICATED THAT UK HAD SOME SYMPATHY FOR FRENCH POSITION THAT WEST SHOULD FOLLOW SUIT IF SOVIETS TABLED DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENT( S). AS DID OTHER EC-9 REPS, UK REP STRESSED NEED KEEP FLEXIBLE ON TACTICS, LEAVING IT TO HELSINKI DELS TO DECIDE WHAT SHOULD BE DONE IF SOVIETS TABLE DRAFT DECLARATIONS. DANISH REP SAID COPENHAGEN WAS PREPARING " EXPLANATORY" PAPER ON FAMILY MEETINGS FOR USE AT FIRST STAGE AND PROMISED CIRCULATE PAPER WHEN IT WAS READY.

8. NETHERLANDS REP SAID THE HAGUE WAS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO TABLING ANY DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENTS ( AS OPPOSED TO " EXPLANATORY" PAPERS). ITALIAN REP SAID ROME HAD SAME POSITION BUT WAS PROBABLY A BIT LESS FIRM. HE CIRCULATED DRAFT DECLARATIONS, WHICH HE SAID WERE FOR SECOND STAGE OF DECLARATIONS ON EDUCATION AND SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS. PORTUGUESE REP, IN CHANGE FROM PREVIO US POSITION ( REFTEL), SAID LISBON HAD NO OBJECTION TO TABLING

OF PAPERS AT FIRST STAGE PROVIDED THERE WAS AGREEMENT AMONG ALLIES THAT PAPERS WOULD NOT BE DISCUSSED THERE. GREEK AND NORWEGIAN REPS, LATTER ON PERSONAL BASIS, EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ON TABLING ANY DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENTS AT FIRST STAGE.

9. US REP NOTED DIFFERENCE BETWEEN " EXPLANATORY" PAPERS, WHICH HE SAID WERE NATIONAL PAPERS WITH RELATIVELY SHORT- TERM IMPACT, AND DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENTS, WHICH OTHER ALLIES MIGHT BE ASKED TO ENDORSE DURING SECOND STAGE. FOR THIS REASON, US REP SAID HE BELIEVED ALLIES SHOULD CONCENTRATE DURING REMAINING TIME PRIOR TO FIRST STAGE ON ANY DRAFT DECLARATIONS WHICH MAY BE TABLED AT FIRST STAGE, SUCH AS THOSE CIRCULATED BY FRENCH. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH APPROACH SUGGESTED BY US REP. REFERRING TO FRENCH PAPERS, US REP ALSO NOTED THAT ALLIES HAD NOT YET ADDRESSED QUESTION OF GENERAL APPROACH AT OPENING OF SECOND STAGE, ( I. E., INDUCTIVE APPROACH OR APPROACH WHICH AMOUNTS TO HARMONIZATION OF OPPOSING TEXTS) NOR ON HOW AGREEMENTS REACHED ON BASKET III SUBJECTS SHOULD BE HANDLED, I. E., IN DECLARATIONS OR OTHER FORMS OF AGREEMENT.

10. VARIOUS MEMBERS OF EC-9 SUPPORTED POSITION THAT ALL FIRST STAGE MEETINGS SHOULD BE OPEN AND THAT NO COMMUNIQUE CONFIDENTIAL

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WAS NEEDED. US REP RECALLED OUR POSITION IN FAVOR OF CLOSED MEETINGS, ASIDE FROM INAUGURAL AND FINAL SESSIONS. ASKED BY FRANCE FOR EXPLANATION OF THIS POSITION, US REP SAID WE RECOGNIZED TEMPTATION WOULD EXIST TO TURN FIRST STAGE INTO PROPAGANDA EXERCISE AND CLOSED MEETINGS WOULD MAKE FOR A MORE BUSINESS- LIKE ATMOSPHERE. GENERAL REACTION OF EC-9 WAS THAT FIRST STAGE WOULD BE PROPAGANDA EXERCISE IN ANY CASE. ONLY PORTUGUESE REP SUPPORTED US ON CLOSED MEETINGS, AND HE JOINED EC-9 IN OPPOSING FINAL COMMUNIQUE. PORTUGUESE REP REPEATED PREVIOUS APPEAL THAT MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS ADHERE CLOSELY TO CSCE AGENDA, BUT MOSE EC-9 REPS INDICATED THAT THEIR MINISTERS' STATEMENTS WOULD BE DIVIDED ROUGHLY HALF- AND- HALF BETWEEN GENERAL POLICY REVIEW AND SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR CSCE SECOND STAGE. NETHERLANDS REP REPORTED THAT HIS MINISTER' S SPEECH WOULD , INTER ALIA, STRESS NEED FOR " INTERNAL SELF- DETERMINATION," ON WHICH DUTCH WILL TABLE " EXPLANATORY" PAPER. ( COMMENT: DUTCH PROPOSAL, WHICH WAS NOT FURTHER EXPLAINED, DREW WINCE OF PAIN FROM GREEK REP. END OF COMMENT).

11. COMMENT: THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION OF EC-9 PROPOSAL THAT SECOND STAGE BEGIN SEPTEMBER 18, BUT WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE THAT OTHER NON- EC ALLIES WILL OBJECT TO THAT DATE. EC-9 HAVE INDICATED SOME FLEXIBILITY ON THIS POINT BY STATING THAT COORDINATING COMMITTEE COULD MEET PRIOR TO SEPT 18. DOES DEPT HAVE PREFERENCE FOR DATE OF INITIAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE MEETING? WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON THIS POINT AS WELL AS ON OPEN MEETINGS/ NO COMMUNIQUE PROPOSAL FOR JUNE 28 MEETING.

SEE SEPTTEL FOR TEXTS OF DRAFT FINAL DOCUMENTS CIRCULATED AT  
JUNE 25 MEETING AND OUR COMMENTS. PRENDERGAST

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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